THE

SECOND PART

OF AN

ARGUMENT,

Shewing, that a

Standing Army

Is inconsistent with

A Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy.

With *Remarks* on the late published LIST of King *JAMES*'s Irish Forces in *France*.

Ucalegon. *Proximus ardet* Virgil. Æn. *l.* 2.

London, Printed in the Year, 1697.

354.426
card
2603

THE

SECOND PART

OF AN

ARGUMENT.

Shewing, that a

Standing Army

Is inconsistent with

A Free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy.

With Remarks on the late published LIST of King JAMES's Irish Forces in France.

Heralegon. | Proximus ardet Virgil. Æn. l. 2.

London, Printed in the Year, 1697.

The Preface.

THE *following Conſiderations were written, and deſigned to be publiſhed ſoon after the* Argument *againſt a* Standing Army *appeared. But a Report being given out, That the Advocates for a* Standing Army *would do Wonders on that Subject, 'twas thought convenient to expect Their Atchievements, that if their Succeſs ſhould prove in any meaſure anſwerable to their Confidence, the Publick might have been no farther importuned about the Matter. I think I may juſtly ſay, This Mountain, after all its Pangs and Convulſions, has brought forth nothing but a ridiculous Mouſe. And therefore I ſhall ſubmit to the Judgment of all impartial Engliſhmen, what is here ſaid in confirmation of* the Argument: *Which I hope will be of the greater weight, becauſe taken from our own Hiſtory.*

354.426
2603

The Preface.

THE *following Conſiderations were written, and deſigned to be publiſhed ſoon after the* Argument *againſt a* Standing Army *appeared. But a Report being given out, That the Advocates for a* Standing Army *would do Wonders on that Subject, 'twas thought convenient to expect Their Atchievements, that if their Succeſs ſhould prove in any meaſure anſwerable to their Confidence, the Publick might have been no farther importuned about the Matter. I think I may juſtly ſay, This Mountain, after all its Pangs and Convulſions, has brought forth nothing but a ridiculous Mouſe. And therefore I ſhall ſubmit to the Judgment of all impartial Engliſhmen, what is here ſaid in confirmation of* the Argument: *Which I hope will be of the greater weight, becauſe taken from our own Hiſtory.*

An Argument, &c.

PART II.

WE have much talk of a Standing Army which is to be in time of Peace, but no body can tell us what they are to do: We know their uſual Commiſſion is to kill and ſlay; But where is the Enemy? Men talk of this with as much certainty, as if they were already eſtabliſhed. Which is yet the more ſurprizing, if we reflect on one of the Articles of Charge againſt the late King *James*. It is plain therefore that all this is Practice, and that theſe bold Foreſtallers of Parliaments would fain Enact that without Doors, which from the Foundation of this Kingdom was never attempted within.

Theſe Gentlemen are alſo pleaſed to affirm it neceſſary to have a vaſt Body of Forces continued on foot: Whereas the firſt Project we find for a Standing Army, in the Year 1629, requires only three thouſand Foot in conſtant Pay, to bridle the Impertinence of Parliaments; to overaw the Parliament and Nation; to make Edicts to be Laws;

Laws; to force upon the People vaſt numbers of Exciſes; and in ſhort, to overturn the whole Frame of this noble Engliſh Government. Whoever has a mind to peruſe that dangerous Scheme in *Ruſhworth's Appendix*, pag. 12. and what he ſays of it in his Hiſtory, will ſee enough.

I marvel whoſe Advocates theſe Men are in this Matter: For I am ſatisfied none of thoſe brave Engliſhmen, who have fought honourably abroad, ever meant, when the Service was over, to be a Charge, Burden and Terror at home to their own Country; nor to disfranchiſe us of two of our Native Liberties, Freedom from Martial Law, and Billeting of Souldiers; and thereby directly to take away from themſelves, as well as from their Fellow-ſubjects, one half of the Benefit of the *Petition of Right*, and in conſequence the other half too, The Freedom of their Perſons and Eſtates.

I ſhall therefore conſider of a Standing Army, without minding who is for it, or who is againſt it in this Age, and only ſhew what are like to be the Conſequences of it in future Reigns. And I have reaſon to do thus, becauſe if the Parliament give the beſt King a Standing Army, the worſt King ſhall hereafter claim and have it.

We have many Inſtances where Parliaments in a kind Fit, by one ſudden Grant, have entailed a World of laſting Miſery upon the Nation. I will mention but one; The Kingdom was newly delivered from a bitter Tyrant, I mean King *John*, and had likewiſe got rid of their perfidious Deliverer the Dauphin of *France*; who

after

after the Engliſh had accepted him for their King, had ſecretly vowed their Extirpation, which the * *Viſcount of Melun*, a Frenchman, being at the point of Death, diſcloſed; they were moreover bleſſed with a young Prince, of whom they conceived mighty Hopes, in the Hands of a very wiſe and honeſt Council. This was Life from the Dead, and a true Revolution. In the Tranſport of all this Happineſs, about the 7*th* Year of this new King *Henr.* 3. the Parliament granted him the Wardſhip of their Heirs. *Knighton*, pag. 2430, records it thus; *Magnates Angliæ conceſſerunt Regi Henrico Wardas Heredum & terrarum ſuarum, quod fuit initium multorum malorum in Anglia.* He ſays this Grant was the beginning of many Miſchiefs in *England.* In the Year 1222 theſe Miſchiefs had their Riſe and Beginning; but where they ended, no old Chronicle could ever tell: For after this intolerable Bondage had continued above four hundred Years, the Nation at laſt ranſomed themſelves in our time by giving the Exciſe. It is a grief to all after Ages to find a Parliament ſo miſerably overſeen, for they both miſtook their Man; and the hopeful Prince proved as bad as if the very Soul of his Father *John* had paſſed into him, which is the common Character given him by all the Antient Hiſtorians: And then they utterly miſtook the Nature of the Grant, and did not foreſee what a Miſery and Vaſſalage it might prove to their Poſterity. I appeal to all the

* *Daniel*, pag. 148.

the Antient Nobility and Gentry, who know any thing of the Affairs of their own Families, whether it was ſo or not: And yet theſe were honeſt and brave Men, who would rather have died than have been the Authors of ſo much Miſchief: but they were led by falſe Appearances, that by having the King Guardian of their Children, they could not be wronged; they would have the beſt Education at Court, ſtand fair for future Preferment, and that a happier Proviſion for their Poſterity could not be made: Neither could it, for the very Learning which this inſtructive Paſſage has given to their late Poſterity, countervails all the Miſchiefs that are paſt.

But the Advocates for a Standing Army tell us, That tho the Wards by being annexed to the Crown, and ſo becoming a Prerogative, could not be parted with, which was the cauſe of the long continuance of that Miſchief, after it was known and felt to be ſo; yet all this is cured by making the Act Temporary, and ſetling a Standing Army only during his Majeſty's Reign, or for Years, or they know not how. I find they have a great mind to their Cucumber, for they are content to have it dreſſed and pickled any way.

I anſwer, That ſucceeding Princes, if they find an Army, will keep it, and will not trouble themſelves whether the Law be Temporary or Perpetual. A plain Inſtance we have of this in the Cuſtoms: For tho Tunnage and Poundage, and the other Impoſitions, are a Subſidy and free Gift, and the King's Anſwer to the Bill thanks the

Subjects

Subjects for their Good-wills. And tho Parliaments have always uſed ſuch Cautions and Limitations in thoſe Grants, as might prevent any Claim, and heretofore limited them to a ſhort time, as for a Year or two; and if they were continued longer, they have directed a certain ſpace of Ceſſation, or Intermiſſion, that ſo the Right of the Subject might be the more evident; at other times they have been granted upon occaſion of War for a certain number of Years, with Proviſo, that if the War were ended in the mean time, then the Grant ſhould ceaſe; and of courſe they have been ſequeſtred into the hands of ſome Subjects for the guarding of the Seas:

Notwithſtanding all this, tho the Parliament ſo carefully guarded their Grants, yet King *Charles* the *Firſt* took this Subſidy without any Grant at all, for ſixteen Years together; tho ſeveral Parliaments in the mean time forbad the paiment of it, and voted all thoſe to be publick Enemies that did not refuſe it. The like did his Son the late King *James* till his Parliament gave it him: and in his firſt Speech to them he demanded it as his own, by the name of *my Revenue*. And why then ſhall not another Prince come and ſay the ſame, Give me my Army, if he ever have a Parliament to ask? To limit a Prince with Laws where there is an Army, is to bind *Sampſon* with his Locks on.

Having made appear that an Army now will be an Army always, I come in the next place to ſhow what the Conſequences of it will be, both

by the Experience of former Ages, and by the Nature of the Thing.

In all Ages and parts of the World, a Standing Army has been the never-failing Inſtrument of enſlaving a Nation; which *Richard* the Second, (*Walſing.* pag. 354.) compaſſing to do here in *England*, accordingly uſed the Means. For the Safety of his Perſon, he aſſembled together (*multos Malefactores*) a great number of profligate Perſons out of the County of *Cheſter*, who ſhould keep watch and ward continually about him in their turns. This Life-guard of his conſiſted of four thouſand Archers; who committed ſuch Outrages amongſt the People, overawed the Parliament, and aided him in his Tyrannical Proceedings in ſuch a manner, as could not be believed, if it were not witneſſed by a whole Parliament, and his own Confeſſion, * *Artic.* the 5*th.* In

* Item, Tempore quo idem Rex in Parliamento ſuo fecit adjudicari Ducem Glouceſtriæ, & Comites Arundell & Warwick ut liberius poſſit exercere Crudelitatem in eoſdem, & voluntatem ſuam injurioſam in aliis adimplere, ſibi attraxit multitudinem magnam Malefactorum de Comitatu Ceſtriæ, quorum quidam cum tranſeuntes per Regnum, tam infra Regis hoſpitium quam extra, Ligeos Regni crudeliter occiderunt, & quoſdam verberaverunt, vulneraverunt, & depradarunt bona populi, & pro ſuis victualibus ſolvere recuſarunt, & Uxores & alias mulieres rapuerunt, & violaverant, & licet ſuper eorum hujuſmodi exceſſibus graves querimoniæ deferebantur ad audientiam dicti Domini Regis; Idem tamen Rex ſuper his juſtitiam, ſeu remedium facere non curavit, ſed favebat iiſdem gentibus in maleficiis eorum; Confidens in iis & eorum præſidio, contra quoſcunq; alios Regni, propter quod fideles regni ſui magnam commotionis & indignationis materiam habuerunt. *Decem. Scrip. Col.* 2748.

In ſhort, tho many of thoſe *Cheſhire*-men plundered and lived upon Free-quarter; beat, wounded, killed and raviſhed where-ever they came: Yet becauſe they enabled him to execute all his cruel and arbitrary Deſigns in Parliament, he countenanced them in all their Crimes, as confiding in them, and truſting in their defence of him againſt all the Realm beſide: For which cauſe all the Lieges of his Realm had great matter of Commotion and Indignation.

This Parliament was in the 21*ſt* of his Reign, and in it the Frame of this Engliſh Government was quite deſtroyed. I need not ſhew in what Particulars, for that is done already by *Bacon*, and many other Lawyers. But in ſhort, the King was made abſolute, and the whole Power of Parliament, which might remedy things afterwards, was given up: For it was made Treaſon for any Man to endeavour to repeal any of the Arbitrary Conſtitutions that were then made.

I am even aſhamed, when I obſerve former Princes ſo zealous for oppreſſing and wronging a Nation, and ſo bent upon it, to reflect how cold and remiſs many Subjects have been in all times, and how unconcerned to preſerve their indiſpenſible Rights, which are the very Being both of themſelves and their Poſterity: To ſee King *John* ready to pawn his Soul, and offer *Miramolim* the Emperor of *Morocco* to turn Turk, and to make his Kingdom tributary to him only, to get his Aſſiſtance to enſlave this Nation, and Subjects to take no care of their Engliſh Liberties;

which certainly are proved to be worth keeping by the eagerneſs of bad Princes to take them away.

But to return to our *Cheſhire*-men, and to the Parliament which they had in charge, *Sagittariis innumerabilibus vallato*, walled about with an infinite number of Archers, as it is deſcribed *Artic.* 4. The Parliament was hereby ſo overawed, that in what they did they were *magis timore Regis ducti quam mentium ratione*, led more by fear of the King than their Conſciences; their Souls were not their own. And beſides the Standing Awe and Terror which this Guard was to both Houſes during their Seſſion, there happened a Paſſage at laſt which put them all into a very great Fright: It is thus ſet down by *Stow*, p. 316. 'And then licence 'being had to depart, a great ſtir was made, as is 'uſed; Whereupon the King's Archers, in num-'ber 4000, compaſſed the Parliament-Houſe '(thinking there had been in the Houſe ſome 'Broil by fighting) with their Bows bent, their 'Arrows notched, and drawing ready to ſhoot, to 'the terror of all that were there; but the King 'herewith coming, pacified them.

Walſing.

Theſe Men did the King ſuch acceptable Service, that he could do no leſs than make ſome return to his Implements, which he did in honouring *Cheſhire* for their ſakes. In this Seſſion of Parliament he made it a Principality, *Cap.* 9. and himſelf Prince of *Cheſter*: And ſo as *Bacon* ys, *Counties go up, and Kingdoms go down*: This had never riſen again but by a happy Revolution,

lution, which followed in leſs than two Years. So much for the *Cheſhire*-men.

But what ſignify the Proceedings of this villanous Crew to an Army, who are all of them Men of Honour, and perhaps in Parliament-time ſhall be ordered a hundred miles off? theſe cannot wall in, ſurround, begirt and beſet a Parliament, nor conſequently hinder it from being a Free Parliament. That I deny, for I hope ſuch an Army may differ in Judgment, and can petition a Parliament at that diſtance; and we very well know that their Deſires are always Commands. The Parliament in 41, long before there was any breach with the King, were in a fair way to have been petitioned out of doors by an Army 150 miles off, tho there was the Clog of a Scotch Army at the heels of them, who upon the leaſt Motion would certainly have followed. And if *Denzill Holles* had not locked the Doors, and communicated the Matter to the Houſe, who immediately fell upon the Officers that were Members, Colonel *Aſhburnham*, *Willmot*, *Pollard*, &c. and quaſhed the Deſign, it had brought the whole Nation into great Confuſion. The Petition of an Army is like that of the Corniſh-men in *Henry* the Seventh's Time; it is always a ſtrong Petition.

Nay, an Army could not go out in this humble way to over-rule a Parliament. If they are in being, they influence; and in *Ceſar*'s eaſy way they conquer, by looking on. The very Reputation of a Force to back them, will make all Court-Propoſals ſpeak big, tho never ſo contrary to the

the Intereſt of the Nation. For there is no debating nor diſputing againſt Legions. It will tempt them to do many things they durſt not otherwiſe think of: What is much out of our reach, rarely is the Object of our Thoughts; but the Facility of Execution is generally the firſt Motives to an Attempt. Now it is abundantly the Intereſt of Court-Flatterers to live under a corrupt Reign. Then Bribes and Confiſcations fill their Coffers. No Man's Wife or Daughter is free from their Luſt, or Eſtate from their Avarice. They extort Preſents from the Nobility, Goods from the Tradeſmen, and Labour from the Poor. In ſhort, all is their own. And 'tis to be feared, theſe Gentlemen (unleſs they have more Vertue than uſually falls to their ſhare) will put Princes upon ſuch Counſels as promote their own Advantage. They will tell them how mean it is to be awed by a few Country Gentlemen, when all the Kings in *Europe* beſides are got out of Pupilage, as *Lewis* XI called it. They will fill their heads with a thouſand trifling Jealouſies of Monſters, Commonwealths, and ſuch like Bug-bears: and it hath been difficult even for the wiſeſt Princes to free themſelves from this ſort of Cattle. *Falſe Prophets ſhall ariſe that ſhall deceive even the Elect.* Nothing but the Fear of Puniſhment, and the being made a Sacrifice to the Peoples juſt Revenge, can make ſuch Men honeſt: But if they have an Army to protect them, all theſe Conſiderations are laid aſide, and all Arguments are anſwered in a word, *The King has an Army. The King has an Army*, ſtops all Mouths, and

and cuts off all Reply. It is as if it ſhould be ſaid, Set your hearts at reſt, for the King has all Power in his hands, and you have none: He has all your Eſtates, Lives and Liberties, under his Girdle: Slaves, and talk! The King has an Army, is a conſuting Anſwer to every thing but a better Army, which Thanks be to God and his preſent Majeſty we have found. But as we are not to live upon Miracles, ſo we are not to tempt Dangers.

I have ſtayed the longer upon this Point, in ſhewing how inconſiſtent an Army is with the Freedom of Parliament, becauſe they being the Keepers of our Engliſh Liberties, can ill perform that Office, when they have parted with their Power into other hands. They are the laſt Reſort of the Subject for the Redreſs of their Grievances. But how ſhall they relieve the poor *Royſton*-men, for inſtance, from the Oppreſſion and Inſolences of the Souldiery, when perhaps they ſhall be ſubject to the like themſelves? The Projectors are aware of this terrible Inconvenience, and therefore they propoſe an Expedient, That it ſhall be the King's Army, but the Parliament ſhall have the paying of them; whereby they ſhall be as much the Parliament's humble Servants, as the Parliament their proper Maſters.

Much at one I believe. For the Long Parliament had not ſuch a King and Parliament Army as this, but an Army that was all their own, their Creatures, as the Court-word is; raiſed, liſted, commiſſioned, and paid wholly by themſelves,

ſelves, and not in Partnerſhip; and that had manfully fought all their Battels: And yet upon the firſt Diſtaſte they were pleaſed to take, they diſtreſſed their own Maſters, and with a high hand forced them to baniſh eleven of their principal Members, *Denzil Holles*, Sir *Philip Stapylton*, *Glyn*, and ſuch other great Men. Sir *Philip Stapylton* died in his Baniſhment. At another time they would not ſuffer near a hundred Members to enter into the Houſe, whom they thought not well affected to the Buſineſs then in hand, and at the ſame time evil intreated and impriſoned about forty Members. This they called purging the Houſe. After they had thus handled them at ſeveral times, in concluſion, the Officers came and reprimanded the Houſe, bid take away that Fool's Bawble the Mace, violently pulled the Speaker out of the Chair, drove out the Members, and locked up the Doors, and ſo good night to the Parliament. The Wiſdom of that Parliament may have been very great, but it was Nonſenſe for them to think, that an Army does not know its own Strength. For without dear-bought Experience any body may know beforehand what will be the natural Conſequences of a Standing Army. From the day you ſet them up, you ſet up your Maſters; you put your ſelves wholly into their hands, and are at their diſcretion. It is the Conqueſt of the Nation in the ſilenteſt, ſhorteſt, and ſureſt way. They are able to diſpoſe of your Lives and Eſtates at Will and Pleaſure: And what can a foreign Conqueror do more? If after this we live and poſſeſs any thing,

'tis

'tis becauſe they let us: and how long that ſhall be, neither we, no nor they themſelves, know.

Nay, in many reſpects an authorized Standing Army is far worſe than a foreign Invaſion, and a Conqueſt from abroad. For there we have a chance for it: but this is a Conqueſt in cold Blood, which may not be reſiſted. And we loſe the inſeparable Rights of the Conquered, which is to reſcue and deliver themſelves, and to throw off the Yoke as ſoon as they can. It is likewiſe a great Aggravation of our Miſery, to be enſlaved at our own Coſt and Charges; Beſides the bitter Reſentments of Unkindneſs and Breach of Truſt, if it be done by thoſe who ought to protect us, and provide better for us; at leaſt ſhould not leave us in a worſe Condition than they found us. But above all, if we contribute to our own Thraldom by our Folly, Flattery and little ſelf-ſeeking; if the Deſtruction of us and our Poſterity be of our ſelves, that Reflection hereafter will have a Sting in it; and it will not be enough to ſay, Who would have thought it?

Now in being over-powered and conquered by a Foreign Enemy, we contract none of this Guilt, and ſuffer it as a bare Calamity. But there is no great fear of that, for the Duke *de Rohan* is our Guarantee that we cannot be conquered from abroad; who in a ſpiteful Deſcription of *England* ſays, it is a great Animal that can be deſtroyed by nothing but it ſelf. Every body muſt die when their time is come: and Empires as well as private Men muſt ſubmit to Time and Fate; Governments have their Infancy, their Meridian,

and their Decay; and the Preludes to their Deſtruction are generally Luxury, Pride, Sloth, Prodigality, Cowardice, Irreligion, Self-intereſt, and an univerſal Neglect of the Publick. God grant this be not the Condition of a Nation I know.

Well, 'tis all one; for let a Standing Army be what it will, ſtill we muſt have it for this unanſwerable Reaſon, *viz. The Defence of the Nation from a ſudden Invaſion: for unleſs,* ſay they, *you have an Army to lie leiger, you are liable to be overrun by a foreign Enemy e're you are aware; and you will ſhew leſs Wit than Æſop's Rhinoceros; you will have your Men to raiſe, and your Teeth to whet, when you ſhould uſe them.* This Thought I confeſs is very natural and obvious, and therefore could not poſſibly eſcape our wiſe Forefathers; yet we cannot learn that ever they put it in practice, which is a great ſign they did not like it. No, we are well aſſured that they would not have ſuffered a Mercenary Army to defend the Nation if they would have done it *gratis.* They would rather have miſtruſted it would double the Invaſion, and make it as big again as it was. I do not ſpeak this by gueſs, but have it from the wiſe Sir *Robert Cotton*, who being conſulted, 3 *Caroli*, in a difficult State of Affairs, amongſt other things gave this Advice at the Council-Table: *Ruſhworth*, pag. 469. *There muſt be, to withſtand a Foreign Invaſion, a proportion of Sea and Land Forces. And it is to be conſidered, that no March by Land can be of that ſpeed to make head againſt the landing of an Enemy: Then that follows, That there is no ſuch Prevention as to be Maſter of the Sea.*

For

For the Land Forces, if it were for an offenſive War, the Men of leſs Livelihood were beſt ſpared; and we uſed formerly to make ſuch Wars Purgamenta Reipublicæ, *if we made no farther Purchaſe by it. But for the Safety of the Commonwealth, the Wiſdom of all times did never intruſt the Publick Cauſe to any other than to ſuch as had a Portion in the Publick Adventure. And that we ſaw in eighty eight, when the Care of the Queen and of the Council did make the Body of that large Army no other than of the Trained Bands.*

In the ſame Advice to the King he lets him know how the People reſented his keeping up an Army in the Winter, tho we were then in War both with *France* and *Spain*. The words are theſe: *And the dangerous Diſtaſtes to the People are not a little improved by the unexampled Courſe, as they conceive, of retaining an Inland Army in Winter Seaſon, when former Times of general Fear, as in eighty eight, produced none ſuch; and makes them in their diſtracted Fears conjecture idly, it was raiſed wholly to ſubject their Fortunes to the Will of Power rather than of Law, and to make good ſome farther Breach upon their Liberties and Freedoms at home, rather than defend us from any Force abroad.* And tells the King the Conſequences of theſe Jealouſies is worthy a prudent and preventing Care.

But *what ſignify the Proceedings of former Ages to us?* ſay the Projectors, *the World is ſtrangely altered, and the Power of* France *is become ſo formidable, that it can never be oppoſed in the* Elizabeth *way.* They ſtill keep up an Army of three or four hundred thouſand Men, and how ſhall us

defend our ſelves againſt all thoſe, without ten or fifteen thouſand diſciplined Troops?

I think the Author of the *Argument*, page 18 and 19, hath ſufficiently ſhewed the Difficulty, if not Impoſſibility, of a Foreign Invaſion, whilſt we are ſuperior at Sea; the great improbability the French King ſhould engage in ſuch a Deſign, and much greater he ſhould ſucceed in it. But that we may for ever lay this Goblin, we will admit our Fleets to be kidnapp'd by an unlucky Wind, whilſt the French land twenty thouſand Men in our Country. Tho in gratitude for this Conceſſion, I hope my Adverſaries will grant that their Fleet cannot get back again without our meeting with them, (ſince the ſame Wind that carries them home, will carry us out); or if they will not be ſo good-natur'd as to allow this, I will undertake for them (for we live in an undertaking Age) that they will agree we ſhall intercept their Supplies. Then the Caſe is thus, That twenty thouſand Men, of which few can be Horſe, are landed in *England*, without any humane probability of being ſupplied from abroad.

I ſay, this Army ſhall never march twenty miles into the Country; for they cannot put themſelves in a marching poſture in leſs than a fortnight or three weeks; and by that time we may have 100000 Militia drawn down upon them, whereof ten thouſand ſhall be Horſe, and as many Dragoons as we pleaſe: And if this Militia does nothing elſe but drive the Country, cut off their Foragers and Straglers, poſſeſs themſelves of the Defilees, and intercept Proviſions, their Army

my muſt be deſtroyed in a ſmall time.

Of this kind I could give many Inſtances out of Hiſtory: but becauſe Antient ones, they ſay, will not fit our purpoſe, I will give you a late one out of *Ireland*.

1*ſt*, I think it will be readily agreed, there are ten Men in *England* for one in *Ireland*.

2*dly*, That King *William* had more Engliſh and Scotch to join with him in *Ireland*, than the F. K. hath Malecontents in *England*.

3*dly*, That even our Militia have more Courage than Iriſhmen. And yet tho we had eight thouſand Horſe, and above thirty thouſand Foot in *Ireland*, and a great part of the Country in our poſſeſſion, yet we were more than four Years in conquering the reſt, and almoſt a Miracle we did it then. And I believe no Man will deny, if we could not have ſupplied our Army from *England*, but they had all there periſhed; ſuch is the Advantage of fighting upon one's own Dunghil.

And to ſhew what Treatment the French are like to meet with in *England*, I will put you in mind of the *Purbeck* Invaſion, which was ſo private, that it was ſeen only by an old Man and a Boy: And yet tho the Country thought the Government againſt them, we had above forty thouſand Voluntiers in Arms in two or three days time, who came thither on their own accord to give them the meeting; and if they had been there, I doubt not would have given a good account of them. Our Court when it was over, ſhewed their diſlike of it, and queſtioned the

Sheriff

Sheriff of *Dorsetshire* about it. And tho we have forgot it, yet I believe the French will remember *Purbeck*; for it shewed the true Spirit and Genius of the English Nation.

To conclude; The whole management of this Project is ridiculous; but the fatal Consequences of it require deeper thought: For when we have fool'd our selves into the Bondage of a Standing Army, how shall we ever get out of it again? Not as the Nation freed themselves from the Court of Wards. We cannot buy it off for two very good Reasons: No Money will be taken for it; and we shall have nothing to give which is not theirs already: Our Estates, Lives and Liberties will be all at their Command. They will have the Keys of our Money, and the Titles to our Lands in their Power.

This last and irreparable Mischief and Misery the Projectors had prepared for us. But under a Gracious King and a Wise Parliament, I hope we shall never see it. His Majesty's Declaration is directly against a Standing Army, *as a means to assist all Arbitrary Designs, and thereby enslave the Nation*; directly against all wicked Attempts of Conquest, and all Despotick Government; 'tis full of Liberty and Property in every part: So that we are sure to be safe on that side. And this Declaration was so highly valued, and so wholly relied upon by the Parliament, that it is incorporated into our Laws as the only redress of our past Grievances and Oppressions, and the best Foundation of our future Happiness: And with entire

con-

confidence that his Majeſty would continue to act in purſuance of that Declaration, the Parliament reſolved that he ſhould be, and be declared King. So that it is to be accounted the *Pacta Conventa* of this Government.

Here I know the Projectors will ſay, That the Army condemned by the Declaration, was the late K. *James*'s Army, kept up in time of Peace without Conſent of Parliament; whereas this Standing Army is to be kept up with their Conſent.

True it was ſo, and therefore it was a Riot and unlawful Aſſembly every hour it ſtood; and having no Law for it, it might have been preſented or indicted; to no purpoſe indeed: But as an Invaſion upon the Subject it might be reſiſted and pulled down as a Nuſance, when-ever the Nation found themſelves able. But ſuppoſe this Army had been made part of the Conſtitution, and had obtained an Act of Parliament for it, which is as much as we can have for a King or a Queen; what then had become of us? They were Aids and Inſtruments of Arbitrary Government before, but then they had been legal Inſtruments, and had enſlaved us by Authority. In ſhort, we could not have relieved our ſelves from them, nor any one elſe in our behalf, becauſe our own Act and Deed would have always been good againſt us. The delightful Notion we know his Majeſty by, is that of our Deliverer which he was upon this occaſion. But theſe miſchievous Projectors would turn it into ſuch a Deliverance, as if we had

had been helpt over a Ford, to be afterwards loſt in the Sea. And as to the Parliament, we are ſafe on that ſide, for a Reaſon amongſt others which is in the *Declaration* in theſe words; *And it cannot be imagined that thoſe who have invited us, or thoſe that have already come to aſſiſt us, will join in a wicked Deſign of Conqueſt, to make void their own Titles to their Honours, Eſtates and Intereſts.*

A POST-

A POSTSCRIPT, with Remarks on a late publiſhed LIST *of Iriſh Papiſts now in the French King's Service.*

THE Advocates for a Standing Army having lately publiſhed a Liſt of an Army of Iriſh and other Papiſts now in the French King's Service, which they ſay are ready when called for, I could not let that Paper go without ſome Remarks; becauſe it informs us of ſome things, that, if I miſtake not, deſerve the Conſideration of all true Engliſh Men, and are as followeth.

1. That there is in *France* an Army of eighteen thouſand Iriſh and other Papiſts, with K. *James* at the Head of them.

2. That they are ready to be tranſported hither when called for.

3. They give broad Hints that there is a ſort of Men amongſt us, who will call for them.

4. That theſe Iriſh and their Correſpondents will anſwer whatever has been or ſhall be written againſt a ſtanding Army.

To the firſt I anſwer, that tho the Iriſh are the beſt Troops in the World to plunder, murder, and maſſacre the innocent and defenceleſs People,

yet they are the worſt of all Souldiers when they meet with Reſiſtance. The late War in *Ireland*, particularly the Siege of *London-derry*, and the routing of *Juſtin Maccarty*, one of their beſt Officers, who was at the Head of a conſiderable Army, by a ſmall Number of the deſpiſed Militia, has abundantly demonſtrated this Truth. And it deſerves the Reſentment of the Engliſh Nation, to find the Enemies of their Country endeavouring at laſt to fright them with that deſpicable Crew, when the Terror they would have given us of the French Armies has proved ineffectual. Beſides, the French King is in poſſeſſion of theſe Iriſh Troops; they ſerve him, and are paid by him: and no Man but a Publick *Boutefeu* would have the Confidence to ſay, He will lend them to King *James* to invade us: For what will that be leſs than declaring a new War? And they who think it in the Power of the French King to aſſiſt King *James* againſt us, without any Breach of the late Treaty, do in effect ſay, That due Care has not been taken of the Nation, than which there cannot be a more ſcandalous Reflection on his Majeſty.

To the ſecond and third of their Menaces I ſhall only ſay, That 'tis ſomewhat extraordinary, that Men ſhould dare publickly to avow their Correſpondence with our Enemies, to own themſelves acquainted with their Deſigns againſt us, to threaten the People with an Army of Iriſh *Banditi*, and to let us know that there are ſome amongſt us ready to join them. But the Great Council of the Nation being now aſſembled, will undoubt-

undoubtedly make ſuch Proviſion for our Safety, that neither they nor their Correſpondents ſhall be able to hurt us.

In the laſt place they tell us, that this is an Anſwer to *the Argument againſt a Standing Army*, and to all that has been or ſhall be written on that Subject. Here's thorow Work indeed: and 'tis pity it ſhould want a Place in the next Edition of the *Iriſh Wiſdom*. Mr. *Bayes*'s fighting ſingly againſt whole Armies is nothing to it: For he like a modeſt Man, was only for routing ſuch as ſhould be raiſed, and never once dreamt of deſtroying them before they had a Being.

'Tis hoped therefore that this laſt Goblin will do us no more hurt than all the reſt that have been induſtriouſly raiſed to terrify the People, and to diſturb the Publick Peace.

THE END.